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SYNDICALISM, A CRITICAL EXAMINATION. J. RAMSAY McDONALD. Open Court Publishing Co. 1912. Pp. vii, 74. 60 cents.

AMERICAN SYNDICALISM: THE I. W. W. JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS. Macmillan, 1913. Pp. 264. \$1.25.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD. PAUL F. BRISSENDEN. University of California Press. 1913. Pp. 82.

"Syndicalism is the most modern phase of the revolutionary movement. It can with perfect safety be dubbed revolutionary, but to call it socialistic would elicit the protests of many syndicalists to whom 'socialism' is a mere middle-class reform, and to call it anarchistic would also be unwise, as an even larger number of them believe syndicalism to be the only true socialism. . . . In syndicalism there is a synthesis of elements: the socialist indictment of capitalism and part of the socialist programme; the anarchist method and ideal; and the unionist idea of organization in trade or industry." (Brissenden, p. 1.) The syndicalist proposes to substitute industrial unionism for trade-unionism; men performing different kinds of work in the same shop, some high-paid and some low-paid, may organize into different unions which bring all in the same *trade* together, or may organize into one great union which includes everyone at work in the shop, regardless of his particular trade, the latter form constituting the industrial union. The I. W. W., which is the American syndicalist organization, is thus in direct opposition to the American Federation of Labor, of which Gompers is President, as that organization is based fundamentally on the trades-union idea. The I. W. W. has bitter words for the "union scab," the carpenter who remains at work when the bricklayers' union engaged on the same building has called a strike. The syndicalist wishes to substitute a wider humanity, a "class-consciousness," for the narrower (but more effective!) "craft-consciousness" which breaks up labor into groups which may work at cross-purposes. But the syndicalist would still be miles away from the American Federation of Labor if the latter made this change in policy. The A. F. L. seeks to get the best conditions of work and pay for labor *within* the present social order, with the wage-system and private ownership of capital; syndicalism, holding all capital to be robbery, attacks the wage system itself, and proposes to take over the shops and mines and railroads for the workers themselves. But it does not intend, as does socialism, to do this by political methods. The syndicalist is sick of the slippery ways of politics, and has seen too many labor leaders debauched and turned respectable by political advancement. "Direct action," he proposes;

strikes and yet strikes; *sabotage* (damaging machinery, spoiling goods, misdirecting shipments, irritating the capitalist in a thousand secret ways); no violence, because the employer has the army behind him (which means no violence when it is of no use); and finally, as the great dream of the near future, the "general strike"—all labor is to fold its hands, show the employing class how helpless it is without labor, and then take over the control of industry from the nerveless hands which drop it. There are two classes, the exploiters and the exploited, between whom no peace is possible. Patriotism, which would make the worker of one country side with the capitalists of that country against his real brothers, the workers of another land, is a cruel delusion from which men must be freed.

The syndicalist has his idealism, his wide humanity, and his religion, though he proclaims, "No God, no master!" The philosopher of syndicalism, Sorel, has prepared a mythology for him, the centre of which is the "general strike," which Sorel explicitly declares a myth, and defends on the ground that myths are necessary. Sorel is supposed to draw his philosophy from Bergson, but the reviewer will stand sponsor for the statement that Bergson does not consider himself to blame for it.

For an interesting impressionistic picture of the syndicalist movement, Mr. Brooks' book is to be recommended warmly. It is interesting, sympathetic, and fair—Mr. Brooks has talked with the men who are in the movement, and knows their point of view. But it is not a book about the American I. W. W. There is scarcely any concrete information in it as to who they are, how they are organized, what they have done, how important they are, what their relation to the French syndicalists is. Mr. Brooks writes as if his reader knew the facts. Splendidly documented, with a bibliography of 28 pages, Mr. Brissenden's book really gives us the facts as to the beginning of the I. W. W. in 1905. The imposing bibliography tells how much the movement counts for, as few other things would. Mr. McDonald's book is clear and readable, and not open to great criticism, but not much more can be said for it.

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RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION. A HISTORY OF ITS ECONOMICS AND OF ITS RELATION TO THE STATE. CHARLES LEE RAPER. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1912. Pp. xi, 331. \$1.50.

This is a general survey of the various matters of prime importance to a right understanding of the railroad problem of our day.